1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

1: Fitzgerald II-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

other hand the third channel of contact, education, is inspired by the ancient Chinese belief that alien peoples can be brought into the Chinese culture by teaching them to use the Chinese script and adopt the moral and ethical principles which Chinese literature expounds. At the present time this well tried method of spreading Chinese civilisation has been revived by including patriotic and political teaching in the curriculum of the schools, with the deliberate intention of welding the varied provinces of China into one nation concious of its unity. The Min Chia lend themselves readily to this process, for, long before the Republic was established, the Imperial Civil Service Examination system had opened a road to wealth and power for all who acquired Chinese learning. The characteristic Chinese respect for education is thus fully shared by the Min Chia.

The schools can be divided broadly into two classes, the city schools maintained by the provincial and local government, and the village schools maintained by the villagers themselves. The first class are subdivided into Elementary and Middle schools, both of which charge fees. Elementary schools in the city are numerous and well attended by both boys and girls, for although education is not actually compulsory every family which can possibly afford it will send their children, especially the boys, to the elementary schools, for which the fees are comparatively low (about 20 Silver dollars a year). The Middle schools of which there are two, one maintained by the city and one by the provincial government, charge 50 Silver dollars a year and continue the education of students up to University age. Only the more wealthy families can afford to educate their children at these schools, which between them have an enrolment of nearly a thousand. Yunnan University, situated at K'un Ming, is open to those who have passed out of the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN CONTACTS AND CHANGES

No picture of Min Chia society would be complete if all reference to alien influence other than Chinese were omitted. In earlier chapters the character and scope of the Chinese influence on society in its various aspects has been discussed, here it is intended to review the nature of Min Chia contacts with European and other foreigners and the changes which such contacts have caused.

Although it is in no sense unexplored, there is perhaps no country, except Tibet, which is as little known to Europeans as Western Yunnan. Until very recently the only means of access was a tedious journey of many days over rough roads infested with robbers. Since the war with Japan, and the realisation of the importance of the route to Burma, a growing number of Europeans have made the journey across Yunnan from K'un Ming to Burma, either on foot or as pioneer motorists. Apart from the resident missionaries these travellers are the only Europeans with whom the Min Chia have even a fleeting first-hand acquaintance. As many travellers either do not speak Chinese, or have only an imperfect understanding of the Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, the influence of the chance and brief contacts they may make with the people can be discounted.

The Min Chia, therefore, gets his ideas of the European and his culture from the resident missionary, and it is therefore important to describe the character and extent of missionary work in the Min Chia districts. There are Protestant missionaries at five centres in the Min Chia country, Ta Li, Erh Yuan, Shih Ku, Lan P'ing and Chien Ch'uan, places which are on the average fifty miles apart.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Chiao," "The Doctrine of Jesus," which means Protestantism, and "Tien Chu Chiao," the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, which is Catholicism. Very few Min Chia know that these two are variant forms of the general Christian religion.

The Min Chia are also under another mistaken impression, perhaps more hampering to missionary work than the first, namely that all Catholic missionaries are the paid agents of the French government, and that all Protestant missionaries are equally the servants of the English government. The fact that many Protestant missionaries are Americans does not shake this universal belief. This idea is not as foolish as it sounds, for the special position of Europeans in China, the system of Extraterritoriality by which no European subject or citizen of the Treaty Powers is subject to Chinese jurisdiction, not unnaturally seems to suggest that these people are the agents of the governments which take such an interest in them. To the rural Chinese or Min Chia it is inconceivable that a government should protect and privilege anyone who was not an official. It is too, equally strange to them that people should give up their lives to change the religion of distant strangers. They find it very hard to understand the motives for this conduct, and the easiest explanation is that the missionary is paid to do it.

The missionaries of both religions lead, in fact, very simple and austere lives, but it would be impossible for them to abandon all the standards of European comfort and hygiene to which they are accustomed, and in consequence, simply by taking some trouble to be reasonably comfortable and healthy, they have to live in a way which seems to most Min Chia very luxurious. Few of the wealthiest Min Chia have glass windows, or oil lamps of any power, or an easy chair, or fly-screened windows. The mission station

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

797 equipped with these simple necessities, seems therefore a
171 wealthy and even prodigal establishment. Many missionary ladies do much of the housework themselves, but they usually have one servant to help in the cooking. Very few Min Chia, if any, have any servant except a more or less imbecile slave girl, and this standard of modest comfort thus seems extravagant to them. In this way, and quite unconsciously, the missions are setting a new standard of comfort and living conditions, which is having a slight but increasing influence on the habits of the wealthier Min Chia class, who are often better supplied with money than the missionaries themselves. This indirect influence on living conditions, of course, only affects the cities where mission stations are established, and only a small class of the richest residents in these cities. Nevertheless, as living exponents of the western manner of life and its modern comforts of which the educated class reads in current Chinese literature, the influence of the missionaries is considerable, if involuntary.

797 The direct influence of Christian teaching is less easy to assess, for the approach of the Catholic and Protestant is quite different. It is true that neither body expects rapid and flamboyant success ; both confess that the Min Chia are an unresponsive people, rooted in their own way of life and traditional, if vague, beliefs. The Catholic hopes to effect Christianisation by a slow and continued process of instruction, and sets less store on individual conversions. The Protestant, founding his practice on the Doctrine of the Elect, only expects a few conversions but expects that these, unrecognised members of the Elect, will at once respond to the Word of God when they are given the opportunity of hearing it. Consequently the Catholic missionaries are concerned with the continuous and close instruction of the group of people among whom they live,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

who visit the Min Chia country, Tibetan horse and tea dealers, Li Su and Miao villagers, are all primitive people whose culture is inferior to that of the Min Chia themselves.

Although Burma is not far away as the crow flies, about two hundred and fifty miles at most, there is only the slightest contact between the two countries. Many Min Chia it is true do go to Burma to work in the winter season, but they congregate in the jade mines of the north where they see hardly any Burmese, and associate only with their fellow Yunnanese workers. The Burmese do not travel. All trade between the two countries is in the hands of Yunnanese, largely Moslem muleteers and merchants. The Indian merchants and traders who are so conspicuous in Burma itself never cross the frontier into Yunnan, and none are ever seen as far east as Ta Li. To most Yunnanese and Min Chia, Burma is " Ying Kuo," that is to say "England," and the belief is general among the less educated that it is the home of the English themselves, who they regard as a kind of ruling caste of Burmese.

Burma thus plays little part in the Min Chia conception of the outside world, and the influence of western culture is spread more through Chinese adaptations of our institutions and inventions than by direct contact with the neighbouring countries under English and French rule. The Chinese newspapers and periodicals filtering through weeks late into the towns of western Yunnan bring news of strange and far-off places with queer names ; Ch'e K'e (Czechoslovakia) and P'o Lan (Poland) ; the activities of a certain Hsi Te La (Hitler), and their bearing on the war with Japan. On a high pass between the Yang Tze and the Mekong, a Min Chia merchant on his way up into Tibet explained to me that England could not help China against Japan because if we brought our fleet to the eastern

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

177 seas Italy and Germany would attack us in the west. One cannot ask for more knowledge of the outer world than that.

177 489 Against these factors making for change one must set the massive forces of inertia which will limit and modify any influence from outside. First of these is the difficulty and inaccessibility of the country. There is the road to Burma and K'un Ming ; one road, long, expensive and difficult, and this is the only direct link with the outer world. The new Burma-Yunnan railway, which will be completed in a few years' time, will not pass within fifty miles of Min Chia country. These modern means of communication in any case only affect the lives of a handful of the rich, being mainly built for national rather than provincial purposes. The mass of the Min Chia will never ride in a bus to K'un Ming or Burma, if only because they could never afford to do so. Yunnan, being very mountainous, is not a country which can be rapidly opened up by the introduction of motor transport, as on the plains of India and north China. The existing routes are useless for any wheeled vehicle and the making of motor roads is a most elaborate and difficult engineering feat. Except for the road to Burma, which is a national war measure, there are no routes through Yunnan carrying a sufficient volume of trade to justify these expensive public works, consequently it is unlikely that any other large-scale motor roads will be built in western Yunnan for several years.

The only reason for which it would be worth while to open up western Yunnan by such roads would be if a large tourist traffic existed, such as pays for the mountain roads of Switzerland or California. Tourists indeed would find Yunnan a paradise if these communications existed, but it is extremely unlikely that such a traffic will come into being for at least fifty years more. Yunnan is very far from such

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

large centres of wealth as exist in eastern Asia. It is more than a week's journey from Shanghai by steamer and train. The distance from Calcutta is about the same, and the lesser centres such as Rangoon or Singapore are all unable to support a large tourist traffic.

Western Yunnan is therefore likely to remain almost an unknown and rarely visited land, even by the Chinese from other provinces. At the present time the refugees from occupied or devastated China have only reached western Yunnan in small numbers, and were peace to be restored, few of them would stay in a country where very little money can be earned. This factor, the poverty of the country, is the other main obstacle to the forces of change. Until western Yunnan can find a product which can be exported cheaply and fetch a good price in the world market—a substitute for opium in fact—the people must remain poor. While communications remain bad such a product is hard to find, but communications cannot be much improved until the country can afford to pay the great expenses necessary. From this vicious circle there is no easy escape.

The natural conservatism of the common people is a factor against change which can easily be overrated. The events of the last twenty-five years have disproved the old belief that the Chinese were a conservative race. Their government until the fall of the Manchus was intensely opposed to any change, and the people followed its lead ; under the republican government, which requires changes, the people, equally, have obeyed the orders given by their rulers. The rapid disappearance of such customs as foot binding, the total disappearance of the queue, prove how little the Chinese are attached to old social customs, while the complete absence of royalist feeling or any interest in the old monarchy shows how easily they will submit to

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

177 radical political innovations. Confucius said, " The people are grass and the ruler the wind, as the wind blows, so the grass bends". This statement is still entirely true of the Chinese people, with one qualification. The Japanese have already found out that the wind must be a local wind and not a gale from the east.

3:Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

783 As a priest there is one thing he must not do: he must not change the intention of the sacrifice. Sacrifice may only be made for the one express and divinely ordained purpose of the remission of sin. It can not be turned aside to any other or made to any one but God. His duty is to maintain and enforce this original end, or otherwise he renders himself liable to the penalty of death.

We confess that the first time a priest voluntarily gave us this information we were surprised to the point of wonder, yea, and of admiration. For it revealed to us the intensity of their great central belief that their sacrifices of propitiation were not man-invented but God-born.

Everywhere the same insistence is made on the due order. Their chantings and prayers include an avowal of faithfulness in this respect. God is invoked to remember that the blood of the sacrifice is presented by his set command as made known to their fathers. Simultaneously the ancient priests are cited as witnesses that they have been stedfast to the rule of faith handed down by them.

Once at a High-place sacrifice, friction which arose among the worshippers led to certain irregularities and lack of reverence in the making of the offering, That same year, men noticed that death claimed the majority of the wanton offenders. This may have been a coincidence, of course, but the reason believed was because they sinned with a high hand.

But the surprise created by the staunchness of the Chiang to the faith of their fathers leads to a distinct shock when it is seen that the priests have allowed strange accretions and realistic amplifications to creep into parts of their ritual and profession which degrade its pristine purity. For instance the skull in the sacred roll obviously is an innovation to give it a dramatic presentation. 793 The horned skirt of the priest is declared to have replaced by a plain shaped one with a circular brim. And a number of priests, not [illegible] copied some of the customs of the Chinese exorcist. [illegible] all, spiritism, in some parts with its customary admixture of real phenomenae and base trickery, has crept in. The investigator, even while he laments these excesses, has to take note of them. All is not pure gold that glitters. There may an alloy in it or it may be a base metal of the same colour. One has to distinguish and care is needed at every turn. Patience and caution are often necessary to disentangle the real from the simulation and what constitutes the old true-Chiang religion from its present day admixture of spurious elements.

177 It has to be remembered that during the reign of the Emperor Chien Long, A. D. 1736-1796 the Chiang suffered complete loss of political liberty. Then idolatry was forced on them at the point of the sword. Temples, never before seen on their mountain sides and plateaus, were wantonly built all through their territory. Since then a slow decadence has been noted in their worship. The

3: Torrance E-4 (no date) 1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Chiang

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'o Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ta'a To, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary [illegible] a Ssu official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuai 張伯苓博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 𠂇, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 羌. A small third character is sometimes added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理番廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Chi, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 391-2

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

789 educated or scientifically trained, and they assume that they see in these events the working of mysterious forces that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, the ceremonies and the sacred implements are surcharged with mysterious power with which he seeks to control events, warding off calamities and enabling him to enjoy a successful and satisfying life, in which the basal needs of food, sex, clothing to protect from the cold, shelter from the forces of nature and protection from enemies, numerous descendants etc. are satisfied, and one can enjoy a successful and happy life.

3. The Gods.

776 The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no certain evidence that they ever have been. The priest at Mu Shang Chai, who is a relative of the deceased Christian pastor Kou P'in-shan, stated that in his ceremonies he worshipped besides the greatest god twelve other gods. At Lung Ch'i Chai we saw two different shrines on housetops where the large white stone was surrounded by twelve smaller stones. In the sacred grove at Lung Ch'i Chai there are four different shrines to four different gods. By persistent enquiry we learned that in some of the villages the Ch'iang have five major gods and twelve minor gods, not counting a goodly number of Chinese gods that are found in Ch'iang homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples. In addition to making enquiries in several different localities, we have translated, as well as possible considering our very limited knowledge of the language, enough of the chants of two different priests to assure ourselves that they worship a number of gods. In one of the chants the different gods are named in order as we will give them below, and called upon to come and assist the priest. While we must make allowance for variations in different localities, we can be sure that they are not monotheists and worship more than one deity.

[177] The supreme god is called Mu Byei Sei (m.v bjei sei), Mu Bya Sei, M Ta Bei, M Bya, Sei, Ma Byei Ch'i, and at least at Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai and Mu Shang Chai where Christian influence has been strong he is often called Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei. Abba means father and it may be applied to any god. On the other hand a number of Ch'iang have asserted that Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei is properly used only to designate Chinese gods in Chinese temples. The first two syllables, Ma bei, mu bya, or m bya, mean sky and sei

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 978 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 778 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[77] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Issac Wh't heart in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[776] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[771] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons.

3. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months.

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B. C. 1121.

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork.

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information.

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, 133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a tow of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 177 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high; a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains; since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000 [361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the [241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes 231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 361 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine
years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
24| trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
23|/7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow
Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If con-
ditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats,
peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats,
horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe
begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is
formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system.
West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24/however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
23| shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan
barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With
increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about
3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock
farmers. (1)

1 Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

● 177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese adminis-
tration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and
are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided
into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall
describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery
of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso
monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic
Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited
two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new
Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I
pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery
in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i. e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur, that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

Mewu

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 777 ●
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewv

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i. e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a bŏm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers.

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

764 the corpse, /62/ attendants cut it up with a knife, severing the limbs
177 at the joints. Any kind of knife is used for this purpose; afterwards it is washed off a bit and used for other things. The various parts of the corpse are thrown in all directions so that they will be devoured by the vultures. The bones, such as skull, jaws, upper thigh bones, are left at the burial place. Many bones are disposed of by vultures.

While this is going on at the burial place, the relatives and lamas (usually only two of the latter) gather in the tent of mourning. Here the lamas read prayers. The family of the deceased prepares a large meal of which the lamas partake. The food consists of tsamba, butter, mo-mo and meat cooked with rice. After the meal tsamba and butter are divided among the relatives. The lamas get the better clothing of the deceased and they in turn give them to their relatives. The lamas continue to read prayers from breakfast until noon and even while people eat. Sometime after the death has occurred, the family gives butter, barley flour and money to the lamasery to which the lamas belong. Wealthy people give each lama $14, a pound (chin) of butter and a bushel (tou) of barley flour. Poor people give each lama only 10 cents; very poor ones give nothing.

Five or six years after the day of mourning the same ceremonies are performed. This custom is perhaps based on the same ideas that underlie the widespread second burial in South China. No special mourning clothes are worn. The Fantzu do not join in official loud weeping as the Chinese do at their funerals; it is only at the funeral feast that they weep softly now and then "to be polite and to show one's sympathy."

A child's funeral does not differ from that of an adult.

If someone has died a violent death, no special customs are observed. Nor is there any difference in the case of suicide. However, this form of death seems to be rare. /63/ My interpreter knew of only two cases of suicides by hanging among the Mewu-Fantzu.

After a death has occurred the Fantzu request an incarnation (fu-yeh) to carry out a ceremony to insure the rebirth of the soul in a human being, not an animal ("scatter flower rice," tsou hua mi). The fu-yeh strews grains of barley all over the tent to form flower-like figures (Tibetan: dzam-na). A pointed trivet is made of tsamba and is a symbol of the dead. It is also strewn with barley corn by the fu-yeh. A member of the family or a neighbor carries the symbol of the dead out of the tent and throws it away not far

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 764 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 772

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and 101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

•177 527 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shepherds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and building houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from family names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They believe that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AFE Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

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[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

1764 An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the

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ST finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

● 177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[509] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

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631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

S 136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

ST 177

S ST 162 101 The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST ●177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin.

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there.

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop.

31: Scherman--23 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

101

16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

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342

The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chinese influence. Rose and Brown report about their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween--in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

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342

Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to th[illegible] another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

113. 133, 177. 621, 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]